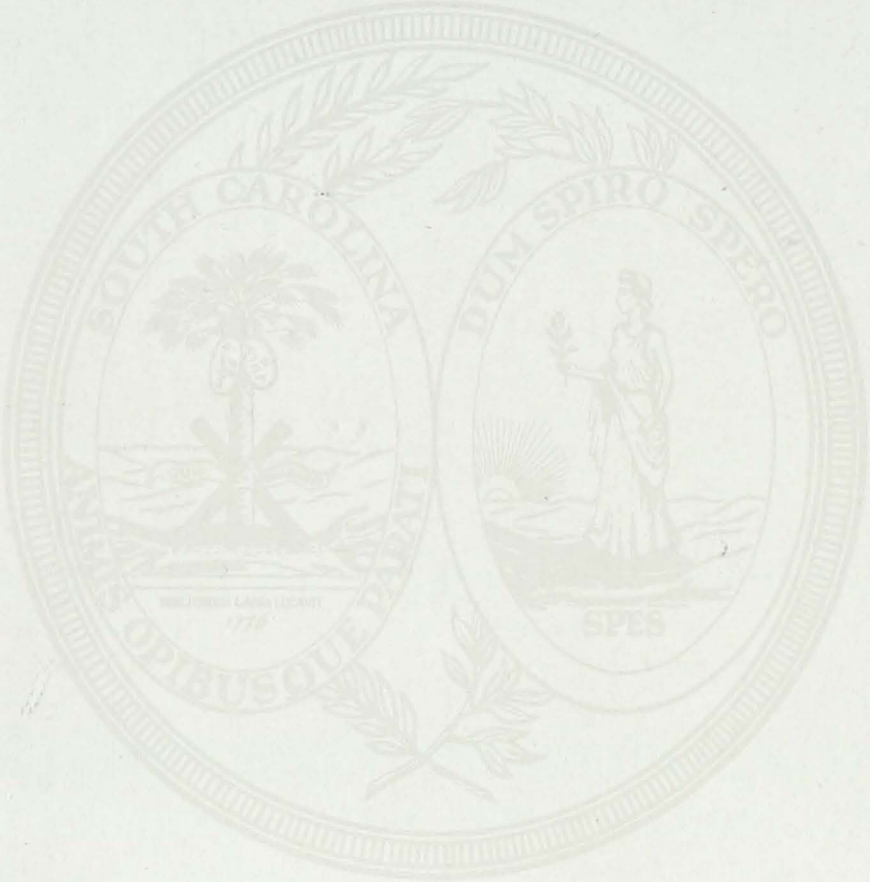
A
HISTORIC EVENING
WITH THE GOVERNORS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

A VISIT TO THE PAST A VIEW OF THE FUTURE

GOVERNORS' ROUNDTABLE TRANSCRIPT



S.C. ETV
Palmetto Project

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A Historic Evening with the Governors of South Carolina: A Visit to the Past—A View of the Future

On November 17, 1989, the Palmetto Project sponsored this unique event in South Carolina history to recognize the achievements of our nine living governors and to establish prestigious community service awards in their honor.

South Carolina has made remarkable progress in the last 40 years due largely to the vision and leadership of these governors. For the first time, the Palmetto Project brought these governors together in a series of events to celebrate our state's achievements and to recognize several individuals and organizations who are making outstanding contributions through community service.

The first event of the evening was the Governors' Roundtable at Columbia College. Eight of South Carolina's governors participated in a wide-ranging discussion of our state's history and future. The two-hour "oral history," from which this transcript was made, provides rare insight by those who have led us for the past four decades.

Following the discussion was the Governors' Reception and the unveiling of a historic exhibit entitled "Nine Governors Together: A Unique Moment in South Carolina History." This special exhibit was prepared by the South Caroliniana Library, where it is now on display.

Over 750 people attended the Governors' Awards Banquet, for which South Carolina ETV prepared brief video biographies of South Carolina's nine living governors. The culmination of the evening was the presentation of four newly established Governors' Community Service Awards. These prestigious awards will be presented annually to the individual, business, nonprofit organization, and high school student best exemplifying the spirit of community service in South Carolina.

This historic evening was a joint effort of hundreds of individuals and organizations. The Palmetto Project owes a special debt to those who sponsored the evening: South Carolina ETV, the Strom Thurmond Institute, Columbia College, South Caroliniana

Library, the University of South Carolina, and the South Carolina Chamber of Commerce.

The Palmetto Project is a nonprofit, nonpartisan community service group established in 1986 to promote innovative ideas and programs to improve South Carolina communities. Ours is a very simple but challenging goal: to make South Carolina the **best** state possible by fostering creative community service projects. For more information about the Palmetto Project and how you can help us, please contact:

Phil Noble, Executive Director
P.O. Box 506
Charleston, South Carolina 29402
(803) 577-4122

S.C. ETV: Preserving South Carolina's History

In keeping with its commitment to preserve memorable events in our state's history, South Carolina ETV has recorded the Governors' Roundtable for archival storage and later broadcast.

Through three decades, S.C. ETV has served South Carolinians with outstanding instructional, educational and life-enriching programming. Maturing under President Henry J. Cauthen from a one-year experimental project, S.C. ETV has become a major national production center for PBS, a leader in instructional programming from early childhood to college and continuing education, and a valuable asset to the economic development of the state through video and telecommunications services.

For a video copy of the Governors' Roundtable, please call Cathy Johnson at (803) 737-3437. The 60-minute version (edited for TV) is $55.00 plus tax. The 2¼-hour version (unedited original) is $95.00 plus tax.

Special Thanks

Many individuals, groups and organizations made important contributions to the Palmetto Project to ensure the success of **A Historic Evening with the Governors of South Carolina**. We especially want to thank those who made major financial contributions.

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The Governors' Roundtable Transcript

FOWLER: Welcome to South Carolina ETV coverage of the Governors' Roundtable from Columbia College in Columbia, South Carolina. Never before in South Carolina's history have so many of our former governors gathered for one such public forum. And let's begin with introductions of our honored governors. On the far left, Judge Donald Russell, governor from 1963 to 1965. Next to him, Governor Robert McNair, governor from 1965 to 1971. Next, Governor John West, governor from 1971 to 1975. Next, Governor James Edwards, governor from 1975 to 1979. Governor Dick Riley, term of office 1979 to 1987. Governor Carroll Campbell, governor from 1987 to the present time. Let's start off with the changing nature of the office of the governor in South Carolina. The political scientist, V.O. Key, put it like this: There is nothing to it in the South but the honor. And for a long time, that was just the case. In a legislative-dominated state up until 1926, it was a two-year term. Historically, before the Civil War in South Carolina, the governor was appointed by the legislature. He could call up the militia or call a special session, but that was about it. The governor's office was established as a separate branch of government only after the Civil War. Let's start around and begin with Judge Russell. Give us an idea of your perceptions of the nature of the office of governor in South Carolina and how that office has changed in our modern times.

RUSSELL: Well, I don't think there is, a great deal of executive power, as you use it in that term, absolute term. But I do think that the prestige of the office is very effective. I think that the governor has an opportunity to be a leader in many fields, provided he's willing to put his prestige on the line. It's quite a different, job from the one I have now fortunately, because you're gonna have a lot of barbs when you are in actual public life. I think that when you're a judge, they say the same things about you, but they say them to your back and not to your face. [laughter] Once you're in public office you've got to realize there are those barbs. But I think if you're gonna do the job, you've got to stand up and take the heat.

FOWLER: Governor McNair, your perception, the nature of the office of governor in South Carolina.

MCNAIR: Well, I would concur with Governor Russell because the constitution doesn't spell out and enumerate an awful lot of

power. It does designate the governor as the chief executive officer and and in interpreting that role it gives you, as he says, the prestige to provide leadership and I think a lot depends on the personality and the relationship that the governor has with the legislative leadership as well as the support that he's able to maintain from the public. And that's why, as Judge Russell says, we're often told by the public quite clearly and frankly how they feel, and that is good in itself, because the prestige of the office goes with the support that one has. I found that the lack of power not to be an inhibition really, and found that the governor's office had an awful lot of influence by reason of the office itself to provide the necessary leadership.

FOWLER: Governor West?

WEST: Well, I certainly never felt the lack of executive power. I think one of the advantages that many of us had was to come up through the legislative ranks and to know how to work with the legislature. Of course the Budget and Control Board has evolved as sort of an executive branch, and having representatives from the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee working in concert with the governor, covers any real deficiency in power. I never felt a lack of power in the governor's office. I agree with Governors Judge Russell and Governor McNair, that the prestige is there. If you want to use it and if you know how to work with the legislature and if you can keep the Budget and Control Board together, then you don't have any problem. [laughter]

FOWLER: President Edwards.

EDWARDS: That's a lot of ifs that John West is just describing, and he's absolutely right, but being the first Republican governor, I guess, in a hundred years, I didn't have as much trouble in office as I anticipated having. But I think it, once again, was because I had served in the legislature, in the Senate for two years and I knew most of the people that served there. But you do have the power of gentle persuasion and, I think, the point should be made that most of us here today are gonna talk about, you know, all the great things we did when we were governor. But you know, we did for the most part, what the electorate out there had in their minds that needed to be done. But we'll take credit and I will certainly take my share of the credit, but without the support of the

legislature and the people that want these changes made, no one in public office has a lot of authority. But I think that the fact that we now have, you know, a situation where a governor can succeed himself, I think that strengthens the office of the governor, and, the Budget and Control Board as you say, we had great support on the Budget and Control Board when I was governor, and that is the executive branch of government in South Carolina, so I didn't feel that we were hamstrung by any lack of authority as vested in the chief executive officer.

FOWLER: Governor Riley.

RILEY: I think when I was governor of this state, the fact that my predecessors had set the tone for office, really enabled, me or certainly Governor Campbell on down the line, to have the kind of pattern to follow. The governor of our state, does lack some of the, management authority. We have tremendous boards and commissions system involving a lot of people outside the government in the government. But there's no hamstring on a governor's capacity to lead, and, whether that's in the legislature, or out with the state agencies, or with the the people themselves, I, have seen over the years, the staffs change tremendously, the capacity to have research and development of policies and ideas. I think all of that's been a change in government generally, locally, state and nationally. And I think that's been a tremendous improvement in the capacity. The two-term measure, of course I supported that and I was the first person to run a second term. That didn't reduce any of the legislative authority, but it did, I think, bring some executive authority to the governor, since a governor can run for reelection. And, it's a grand governmental position and I think anybody that's ever sat in the seat, would say that. It's a great opportunity to serve and to lead.

FOWLER: Governor Campbell, picking up on that, the nature of the office of the governor, you are serving in that office now, and you also, in the administration of Governor Edwards, served in his administration as well, and prior to that, could view it from service in the legislature. What about the nature of the office of governor of South Carolina?

CAMPBELL: Well, I think the office of governor has evolved much as all of these gentlemen have stated. The legislature still has the power in the state, there is no question about that. It's

vested that way by our constitution, and I don't find that a problem to work with at all. The prestige of the office itself, as Governor Russell started out saying, is what you have to work with. It is the bully pulpit, if you want to use it, to promote the ideas that you bring, to promote concepts of government that you would like to see promoted. It is the only office in this state that has the ability to promote everything from health programs to education to the environmental programs, as every other office of the state is assigned to a specific duty. And so the governor does have that unique position. But the office itself has also changed. The advent of the federal grants coming through the office and the growth of those grants have given the governor tools. Those tools are the granting of funds or the starting of programs out of that office, as a beginning of a new idea. And that has been used effectively, and the previous administrations too, to mine that where they had started. And, we of course, used those tools. We adopted one other different item, and that is that we started an executive budget because we felt that the governor had an ability to look at all of government a little clearer and then work with the Budget and Control Board. And the Budget and Control Board is a good institution. I've enjoyed it. I've enjoyed that working relationship and I think each of the others has, and it's given us a unique perspective of being able to work with the legislative branch and the executive branch and trying to reach some consensus of government, and I think that is a strength. But going back to the beginning, the office itself, the visibility of the office, the prestige of the office, the ability of the incumbent to promote ideas from that office are really the strength of the office.

FOWLER: Picking up on something that's been mentioned so far, the relationship with the legislature—Governor Edwards, you mentioned this—you were the first Republican governor in our modern times in an administration that was known as a coalition builder, you were willing, and you had to work with a Democratic controlled Senate and House. Let's let you pick up on that—that point, discussing the relationship between the legislature and the executive branch.

EDWARDS: Well, I've always been of the opinion that during political campaigns you should be very partisan, and, once the people have spoken and have elected whoever they elect, I think it's time to put partisan issues aside and work together. And of course, as the first Republican governor, I think we had, we had

three people in the Senate, three Republicans in the Senate of 46, and we had 11 of 123 over in the House, so I didn't see any reason for being partisan. [laughter] I'm a reasonable man. I don't mind a fight, but I don't need that kind of odds against me. But we had worked with the leadership of the Senate, and, particularly, Rembert Dennis, the Silver Fox, and Senator Gressett and the other leadership in the House. But we had good relationships and I had no problem at all working with the legislature. In fact, I think we had as much support as any previous, governor that had ever occupied that seat and thanks to them, we were able to accomplish something. And, of course, it's a two-way street. You had trade offs, you gave and you got a little bit, and between the giving and getting we moved South Carolina ahead in a variety of ways and it was a most enjoyable relationship.

FOWLER: Judge Russell, when in your term of office, Speaker Blatt was speaker and the Senate had the likes of Senator Brown and many others, what was that relationship during that time?

RUSSELL: What relationship?

FOWLER: The relationship between the office of governor and the legislature, the Senate and the House.

RUSSELL: Well, I, unlike every other person here, I had no legislative experience. I was never a member of the legislature. In fact, I had never held any elective public office at the time I became governor, so I came in sort of fresh. [laughter] But most of these people in the legislature, or, well, a majority of them at that time, had gone to the university and we had a sort of Carolina camaraderie. [laughter] And I found that very helpful during my time. But I never had any trouble in working with the legislature. I felt—found that most of the members of the legislature shared with the governor in a feeling of wanting to do something for the betterment of the state. Occasionally you did have some differences. Sometimes, as one perhaps not well versed in legislative prerogative, you overstepped the bounds a little bit. And I, on one occasion, appointed a solicitor in Charleston and that provoked considerable discussion. [laughter] And I finished my term without ever having obtained, I believe, a solicitor. [laughter] But nonetheless, that was an exercise of executive privilege and executive right that didn't quite come off. But I learned my lesson, and I worked very satisfactorily and I found that most of the time if you

had a good reason, you could very well easily win the support of a majority of the legislature. I really had a great deal of admiration for the leaders of the—both the House and the Senate during the time that I was governor.

FOWLER: Judge Timmerman, who will probably be at the dinner tonight was the first lieutenant governor in the history of the state to ascend to the office of governor, and that set a model that has been successful in some cases and unsuccessful in other cases since. Governor McNair and Governor West both share in that. What about that? You both had legislative service and service as lieutenant governor prior to being governor. How did this help or affect your ability to relate to work with the legislature of the state? Governor McNair?

MCNAIR: Well, I had served 12 years in the House, so most of all of my time spent there, had had the opportunity to serve as chairman of two of the major committees. So I had developed a good relationship with the leadership in the Senate by reason of working with them. But I found the opportunity to serve as lieutenant governor afforded me then, the, you know, the unique privilege of working with the Senate leadership as well. And serving under the leadership of Mr. Russell gave me an opportunity to get involved really with him in the development of his programs and working with him with the Senate leadership as well as with the House, so from my vantage point I found it to be a very worthwhile and valuable experience, with the House background and then having the opportunity to preside over and to work with the Senate leadership.

FOWLER: Governor West?

WEST: First of all, Tom, on the tradition of the lieutenant governor succeeding to governor, I was the last one, and I deny emphatically that my record had anything to do with the failure. [laughter] As a matter of fact, in 1970 I was the only lieutenant governor in the United States elected governor, I believe, and as a result, they asked me to attend the lieutenant governors' convention to tell them how I got elected. [laughter] I'm afraid I was somewhat of a disappointment. I just said, "Well, I followed a fine governor who helped me," and that was, of course, Governor McNair. I enjoyed my service with the legislature as governor. In fact some say that it was too cozy a relationship. I only vetoed one bill during my en-

tire four years. If I saw a bill coming that I didn't like, I'd talk to the leadership and say, "Let's reach a consensus," and we did, and it was a very fine relationship, a very cordial relationship, and I like to think a productive one.

FOWLER: The strengths and weaknesses of the office have been mentioned already. And we'll turn to that now. Governor Riley, one of the criticisms historically in this state, was the inability of a governor to serve two terms in a row. This was called a weakness by a number of observers. This was expanded during your first term. This enabled a number of things to continue in your administration, programs to be stretched out over a longer period of time. Talk about the strengths and the weaknesses of the office of governor.

RILEY: Well, the boards and commissions that basically handle the executive function out among the agencies is a very important aspect of the executive department of this state. One of the important things then, is the appointive power of a governor to have people who support generally what the governor is trying to do, the program or whatever. So really the idea of, when I took office from, Governor Edwards, really his appointees were basically in the majority of most boards and commissions for like the first two years of my term. And the same would have been true when Jim followed John West. Consequently, you come into office the first two years you really are not able to manage that, for that reason as well as if your appointees were in there. Then the last two, if you're on the way out, of course, then you, you really are a lame duck and it has that effect. So if you have the possibility of having this second term, it's amazing how important that is in managing in an executive way, the function of the governor in an attempt to lead the state as you wish to lead it. That's the two-term thing, again, as I, as I indicated earlier, did not take any power from the legislature. It doesn't add any specific power to the governor except the appointive spread and generally the concept that, a person has to do a good job or attempt to do a good job for the effort to run again and the public is watching that and that's the only way that they can judge whether a person has done a good job or not. Nobody's record was ever voted on until the two-term provision. And it changed the power, I think, or the effectiveness, I think, of the governor's office.

FOWLER: Governor Campbell, what about the, the strengths of

the governor's office in the state and the weaknesses of this office?

CAMPBELL: I think Governor Riley has pointed to one, and that is the appointive powers of the governor. Basically, of course they deal with the agencies of government, but they also deal with other other parts of the government, the quasi-judicial parts, workers' compensation judges, people of that category that do impact policy longer term. Some of the appointments carry six year terms, and the quality of those appointments, of course are important. And so I think the general appointive powers are important. The other side is the advise and consent and how you look at it. I, I'm like Governor Riley or Governor McNair, Governor West, Governor Edwards, I did serve in the House and in the Senate and I, and I served in Washington also and the advise and consent powers of the Senate on appointments and on the local government appointees have been in many times treated as a one-way street that only the legislature gave advice and consented and expected the governors basically to rubber stamp any recommendations that they made. It's a two-way street and if you treat it as a two-way street where you ask for the same background information for local appointees, such as ethics forms and everything that are asked for state appointees, then you exercise that power back the same way. We try to do that. And we think it's fair—and so does the legislature because it gives good background on any, any individuals and it helps us. Obviously the governor has veto. And we haven't talked about that. Forty-three governors do have veto power, line item veto power, and line item veto is an important part. I don't like to use a veto. One year I did have to, to veto a great deal, and the legislature did sustain those vetoes. Uh, I haven't had to veto very many pieces of legislation because like Governor West said, if we have differences of opinion, I try to sit down with leadership too, and talk about it and see if we can work it out. However, that is a direct power of the governor's office and of course it does enable a governor to have the ability to sit down not only in a sense of friendship, but also from some position of strength in a negotiation, and without that I think that the governor would be much weaker. Our sister state of North Carolina's governor has no veto. He has a lot of appointive powers and I think that he has problems sometimes because of that. And so, I think that those powers are extremely important. The office is not weak as it has been said. It is balanced, in my opinion. It is as strong as, as you need to make it, I believe, with

the exception of the fact that this state has no cabinet form of government and those that do have a cabinet form of government have a stronger appointive power, but as I look at many of their other powers, I find that the governor of this state is pretty much on par in most instances.

FOWLER: Let's pick up on that and talk about the, the role of the governor as the chief executive. The Budget and Control Board has been mentioned. This was something that is not historic. It's historic in our modern times. Senator Thurmond, in his time in office, was instrumental in strengthening the Budget and Control Board, adding the comptroller general and the treasurer to that which strengthened that. Over time it's increased. You, Governor Campbell, you're a businessman, served in the administration of Governor Edwards, you now chair the Budget and Control Board. Talk a bit about this, the role of this as an adjunct of the governor's office and the role of this in relating to the comptroller general's office, treasurer's office, to the Senate and the House through their representatives on the board.

CAMPBELL: Well, first it provides you a vehicle to build consensus. It gives you a feel of both the House and the Senate, their leadership on any given issue. It also gives you the wisdom of the fiscal officers of the state on financial matters, and of course the direct executive input from the governor himself, and I think that it allows you to gain a unique perspective on any given issue. The power of the Budget and Control Board is quasi-executive, quasi-legislative, in that the powers that are given to the Budget and Control Board when the legislature is out do tend to, to move toward a legislative type of power, even though it's interim. On the other hand, it, too, is a is sort of a, of an appeals court, if you will, in the governmental process in that the agencies and decisions of agencies are brought up to the Budget and Control Board, even in the cases of employee grievances where the Budget and Control Board would have to review a finding. And so it does act in an appeals process, so it to some degree gets into the judicial aspect of government. And by putting all of these together it becomes a, a very powerful board. It is balanced by the fact that the governor doesn't appoint the board. Essentially, the people that evolve to the position of the chairmanship of the Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committee evolve to the Budget and Control Board and the other two constitutional officers win it in their own right. So you basically have independent actors, uh, that are on

that board, and as independent actors oftentimes they bring different perspectives and oftentimes there are divided votes. But more often there is a building of consensus through understanding because of those different perspectives and positions taken by the Budget and Control Board are most often supported generally in the General Assembly.

FOWLER: Picking up on that, the issue of the governor as chief executive, one part of that office in recent times has been the role of the crisis coordinator, the one who in a time of natural disaster, political crisis or other problems in the state has been the one at the forefront of making decisions and trying to put policies and programs in place. Governor McNair, your time in office spanned a turbulent time, both for the nation and for the state of South Carolina, a time of growth, but a time of challenge and difficulty, both at the national and state level. Talk a bit about, about that and about how you felt yourself as governor responding to the challenges that the times presented to you.

MCNAIR: Well, I think we had to recognize early on that we were dealing with what has been a unique situation, where we were dealing with people problems, and of how we could bring people together in order to deal with some very serious, longstanding historical problems. And, we recognized early on that it was something that was so sensitive and so emotional in nature that it couldn't necessarily be dealt with at the local level entirely. And therefore the governor and the governor's office had to involve itself in order to find a common ground for us, you know, for dealing with many of those problems. So I, I think from that starting point things evolved around the governor's office. We couldn't expect local law enforcement offices at the municipal, level, who really had had no training back at that time. That was prior to when we had an organized training effort for law enforcement. We couldn't expect them to deal with these sensitive issues. We couldn't expect a local political leader to deal with something that was so sensitive, so explosive until there was no way he could, he could really handle it at that close level. And by reason of that fact, things began to evolve around the governor's office and we found that we were able to pull together the leadership of all sides. At that time it was the racial issue, the leadership of both the black community and the white communities and work with them in order to ease the tensions, to maintain peace and order as much as we could while we worked on resolving the problems.

So I think it was a natural evolution, but one that really needed to be dealt with at that level because it was much larger than local. It was really state and national.

FOWLER: The executive order during your administration was used and has come to be since that time a key part of dealing with a crisis. Talk about that evolution and how you used it.

MCNAIR: I think we found ourselves in some rather serious problems and, I suppose, and I have told the story that you could ask the attorney general if the governor had the power to perform certain acts and there was nothing definitive in the constitution. But I used the phrase early on, as Judge Russell did, the constitution designates the governor as the chief executive officer, and as such, he is the commander-in-chief of the National Guard and he controls the state law enforcement division. So by reason of that fact, I found that when I asked the attorney general a different way if he could find anything in the constitution that said I could not do thus and so, I got a pretty positive answer, and that was, "No, I don't see anything in there either." And we really took some assumptions at that time. We took some risks in using the executive order in order to accomplish some of the things we needed to do, and found it a very useful tool, and I think others, after that have done likewise. Like time we tried to build a consensus when we were gonna use it, and that's where I found the constitutional officers, though they were not part of a cabinet, I found them to be some good advisers and good resources, the legislative leadership to be very valuable also when you found yourself in a position of having to issue an executive order that was going to restrain the rights of people and/or do some unusual things that hadn't been done before. So it didn't eliminate the necessity of trying to build some kind of support, but it also gave you a tool to use in an emergency, as Governor Campbell used so effectively during Hugo. Without it, you know, without his using that and his power to exercise it and to enforce it, nobody knows what might have happened along the coast of South Carolina.

FOWLER: Let's turn to Governor Campbell and talk a bit about that. This was a case, obviously, not of civil unrest, but a natural disaster for the state. Talk about your thinking prior to the executive order and after the fact, how well do you think it worked?

CAMPBELL: Well, of course we had ample precedent that had

been established through Governor McNair and later, largely refined in the West administration if, I believe that's correct. And then researched, in great depth in the Edwards' administration, as to the use of an executive order. The attorney general once again was consulted throughout and we, of course, conferred with the members of the general—the leadership of the general assembly, about some of the needs that we thought we would be facing. We did issue the executive order in advance and deployed troops in advance of a disaster hitting. That was in anticipation and we had to watch what fine line we were walking there, but we did it in anticipation of the disaster hitting. And without that tool I don't think we could have been as prepared. We were able to get the National Guard deployed along Interstate Highway 95 in place—water, medical supplies, things of that nature, spare generators, before the hurricane came in. And we were able to evacuate and we were able to use law enforcement and the Guard to help with the evacuation. Of course, after the disaster occurred, we kept the order in place and we used that to maintain law and order, to protect life and property and to assist with the rescue operations and the recovery. We did have to issue several amendments and several other executive orders because things came up during the crisis. For instance, we found that the waters around the barrier islands and along the coast were littered with debris, that they were full of leaking propane tanks, things of that nature, and we had a lot of idle curiosity-seekers that tried to come in by boat, some of them just riding around, and it was dangerous. It was very dangerous, and we used the executive order there to, to close those waters, because of the danger that did exist. We had another danger with fire, in that people, immediately wanted to start burning any trash. Well, we didn't have any water lines working in some communities and had no ability to put out a fire and so we issued some executive orders there that, that restricted those burnings to the areas that were under control by a fire unit that had the capability of dealing with them or where the water was adequate to handle a normal fire. So we had to do some refinement. We had to extend the executive order because of the anticipation, once again, in the aftermath of Hugo by another executive order, the anticipation being that we had a unique occurrence in October, which we were then anticipating, of the abnormally high tides with a devastated coast, which had we had winds would have caused a great deal more damage and by extending that we were able to utilize that executive order working with the federal government to build a forty-mile berm down the

coast for the purpose of the protection of property. Fortunately we didn't have the high winds and that held in most instances. But those are just examples of how an executive order can be used, it can be used effectively. It expires in 15 days unless, of course, it's extended by the general assembly or a new emergency order is given. It should be used very sparingly. I was quite anxious to have it expire and get back to a normalization, as I am sure any other governor would be. But it is a tool, as Governor—Governor McNair said, that is absolutely essential to the executive management of a state during an emergency. And the powers under the executive order of this state in an emergency and the declaration of an emergency are extraordinary for the executive and without them, I'm not sure we could have handled something such as Hurricane Hugo.

FOWLER: Shifting to the area of economics and growth, South Carolina over the period of time of the living governors of South Carolina, from Senator Thurmond to the present time, Governor Campbell, we have seen our state shift from a rural state dominated by agriculture to a state of mixed tourism, service industries, manufacturing is very heavy, agriculture playing not the dominant role it did forty years ago. Let's, if we can, give us a sense of the progression of our state. What have we done well in the past forty years? What have we yet to do well? Judge Russell.

RUSSELL: Well, I'll tell you one thing that always lives in my memory as a great tribute to the people of South Carolina, and as an example to the nation. When I came in as governor, we had the job of integrating Clemson. At the same time they were integrating the University of Mississippi, they were integrating the University of Alabama. We all know the experiences in Mississippi. In Mississippi they had to bring in troops, they had people killed, it was a very disastrous occasion. We all have the picture of George Wallace as he stood before the schoolhouse door against the order of the president and it had to be the troops to tell him they were coming through. Here was South Carolina, and everybody thought that South Carolina was going to be the same firebrand type as the others. Not law-abiding, not willing to adjust, not willing to abide, as I say, by the law and President Kennedy. Attorney General Kennedy called me as governor, and he said, "We want to send in marshals, make available to you troops if you need them, in order to integrate Clemson." And I said, "Mr. Presi-

dent, we in South Carolina don't need troops and we don't need United States marshals to enforce the law. We in South Carolina are a law-abiding people, and I pledge to you that there will be no trouble at Clemson University." There was no trouble at the univer—at Clemson University, and it was a tribute, I think, to the people of South Carolina, not a tribute to anybody else, but a tribute to the good sense and the law-abiding nature of the people of South Carolina that we measured up at that time as law-abiding citizens. I remember a sort of funny incident when this all was occurring. South Carolina stood out a little different from Mississippi. I was born in Mississippi. I think up until Governor Edwards came along, he and I were the only two non-South Carolinians ever elected governor since the Civil War.

EDWARDS: Governor, I meant to be born in South Carolina. [laughter]

RUSSELL: Well, I always say that my parents were all from South Carolina, went out, my father died, I was three years old, my mother said, having seen what Mississippi produced, looking at her two children, she thought the best thing for her to do was to come back to South Carolina. [laughter] And I've been in South Carolina ever since. But there was this chap out in Greenville, Mississippi, about two o' clock in the morning, he was drinking, and he called up the State House, the mansion, and I answered the telephone, and here was this drunk who wanted to talk to me, and he says, "You were born in Mississippi," he said, "I want to tell you, you are a disgrace to your state. You're not doing anything about that situation up at Clemson. You've got to do like Ross Barnett." Well, I listened to this tirade for awhile, and finally I said, "I want to know one thing. Would you mind telling me where Meredith is sleeping tonight?" Meredith was sleeping in a dormitory at the University of Mississippi. He was put there by troops of the Amer—the United States army. But there were four dead people out there as a result. And I said, "I have no apologies." And I think, as I say, that incident indicates the people of South Carolina, when you start talking about the opportunities for growth, I think it's that spirit that we have in South Carolina that as people are exposed to it, I think they like to come here and they like to live. And this is a place where it's good to start a business. Businesses will grow in an environment where they are appreciated, where they are assisted. And I think, participating in it, we in the judiciary are sort of remote from these things, but on the

other hand, I can certainly look and I can certainly admire what the governors who have come after me have done in the way of building up the industrial life of South Carolina. I think all of them are deserving of a tribute from the people of the state for the leadership they've given in economic growth and maintaining a fine financial status for the state. I think nothing is more important than that. I've just come from Boston, Massachusetts, and I was reading about the miracle, the miracle we heard so much about not very long ago, and here they've got a billion dollars, according to one estimate, deficit in the state finances. That's something that we haven't had in South Carolina and I think that's a tribute to, again, to the governors that we've had in this state. I think it's something that's necessary in order to establish a sort of environment that attracts industry and growth.

FOWLER: Governor McNair, would you pick up on that? Talk a bit about the perspective during your term and in the years you've had to reflect on that? Where did we begin in this state after World War II? Where are we now with, developing economically?

MCNAIR: Well, I think, like, Judge Russell, Governor Russell, we always have a problem with what we refer to him as: Judge, Governor or Mr. President. But as,—

RUSSELL: President of the university now.

MCNAIR: President of the university. As Judge Russell has said, I think we all recognized early on that, South Carolina had to grow economically, and I think we realized early on that we didn't have the natural resources of some of the other states, that really the resource we had to build on was people. And I came along at a unique time, when—we've just talked about, you know, during the integration, following the integration of Clemson, having to integrate the public school system and recognizing that we had to develop a system, a comprehensive system that would give everybody an opportunity to, a right to participate in what was happening in South Carolina and to prepare them for it. So early on there was an emphasis on education, beginning with preschool recognizing that many going into the integrated school system were gonna have difficulty finding themselves in a new environment, and therefore we had to begin an early childhood education program and that was the birth of the kindergarten program, which in itself was highly controversial, as many will remember. And then we had one of the highest illiteracy rates in

the nation. We had one of the highest dropout rates in the nation, and we had to begin to do something to hold people in school through what we referred to as adjunct education, that really was broadening the scope of vocational to integrate it more with the academic, to hold people in beyond the sixth and seventh grade, what we call beyond the social promotion level. And, then to reach out to that vast number of people who'd dropped out. We did a survey and discovered we had hundreds, I think several hundred thousand people out there who were in the employment age but who had less than a ninth-grade education. So we had to broaden and expand so that South Carolina was the first state in the nation to put in a comprehensive adult literacy program that went all the way through grade 12 to reach out and bring those people into the labor force and, expand on and broaden the operation of the technical education centers, all developing our human resources in order to expand our economy and put a strong emphasis on jobs. And we recognized then that we needed industrial jobs in order to provide opportunity for these people that were coming both out of the public school system and out of the adult literacy program that was turning in a large number of people. I think one of my proudest moments was the year that one in every six diplomas issued was given to an adult. And the average age of that adult was somewhere around thirty years old, I believe.

FOWLER: Governor West.

WEST: I would like to elaborate on what Governor McNair said. I well remember a survey made in the late '50s that indicated that one third of our workforce was functionally illiterate. That coincided with the death of the row-crop system that had been our backbone in South Carolina. So we had to—we had this large workforce, willing workers, people who had been used to working from sunrise to sundown for less than the minimum wage. But they were not prepared to go into an industrial economy. That was the challenge that we faced in the '50s and early '60s, and that challenge was met with two things: the comprehensive educational programs that Governor McNair mentioned, the adult educational program, the technical education program, and then the, massive effort made by governors, particularly beginning with Governor Hollings, continuing on down today to bring industry to South Carolina. One of my friends just before the program, Tom, said, "Well, I wonder how many of you are going to take credit for technical education." And I—I said, "I suspect most of us will. And

fortunately there's enough credit to go around." It was an idea whose time had come, and fortunately, we were able to implement it in South Carolina with marked success, and that educational program plus the aggressive efforts beginning with Fritz Hollings and going down to present—our quality of life here, the things Judge Russell talked about, all have combined to give us a new opportunity. Of course, as we look to the—forward to the future, the technical education programs that we started were a bridge, but we've got to do more now. Education is the key to the future.

FOWLER: As the discussion moves chronologically, we reach a time in this state when we begin to see an industrial economy and then that economy is impacted by international events, the oil embargoes and the problems that hit our state during that period of time. Governor Edwards, pick up, and where were we when your administration took office? How did we move forward?

EDWARDS: We were just where you explained we were, when the oil embargo had hit just prior to my administration, it had hit in John's administration, it had thrown us into some economic disarray, but we are a global state now, and to continue along the line that they had developed—John, I don't want to take any credit for developing technical education, so—

WEST: You're the only one. [laughter]

EDWARDS: But I do think that we have to strengthen it now, because, I was just in a manufacturing plant in Cleveland, Ohio, it was Morris Controls, and all of their people in that plant, they were operating computer controlled instruments, and our work force that we have been training in the past in our technical education programs in this state are not gonna be able to fulfill the needs of the years to come if we don't really grow with that need. It's a quite a sophisticated manufacturing operation out there now and we have to further educate these young people so that they can fulfill those jobs. But the crisis in energy hit us very severely because most of our—during my administration, for example, the first stage of it, we had the gasoline lines and the energy crisis, and most of our manufacturing industry, 40 percent of it, is in the textiles or was at that time and the textile operations depends on gas, natural gas, for part of their procedure, and so it threw our economy in total disarray. So we have to, have to diversify, and that's what's been happening. We tried to do it during my ad-

ministration and I must say we were somewhat successful. We had a billion two hundred and thirty five million dollar year, the biggest year in industrial expansion we'd ever had up to that point. That's a small number now, as the other governors have worked diligently to expand our economic base in the state. But I recall during that four year period I think our personal income in South Carolina increased by, I think it was 36 percent, the national average was 32 percent, and that's a statistic that sort of stuck in my mind. We had made a little step forward and each of us along the way have tried to do similar things such as that. But, we have to continue educating our people and we have to also, I'm coming from a biased point of view now from my job that I hold now, you have to have a not only educated, but you have to have a healthy workforce, and we have so many people that are unable to pay for their health care that we are gonna wind up with a crippled and unhealthy workforce, and you can't learn if you're sick. And we've got to pay a lot of attention to the health care of our workforce as well as the education. So if we could combine those two and keep our people healthy and further educate them, particularly in these highly technical areas I predict we are gonna have a rosy future for South Carolina. I'm an optimist in spite of the Hugo destruction that has been through here lately.

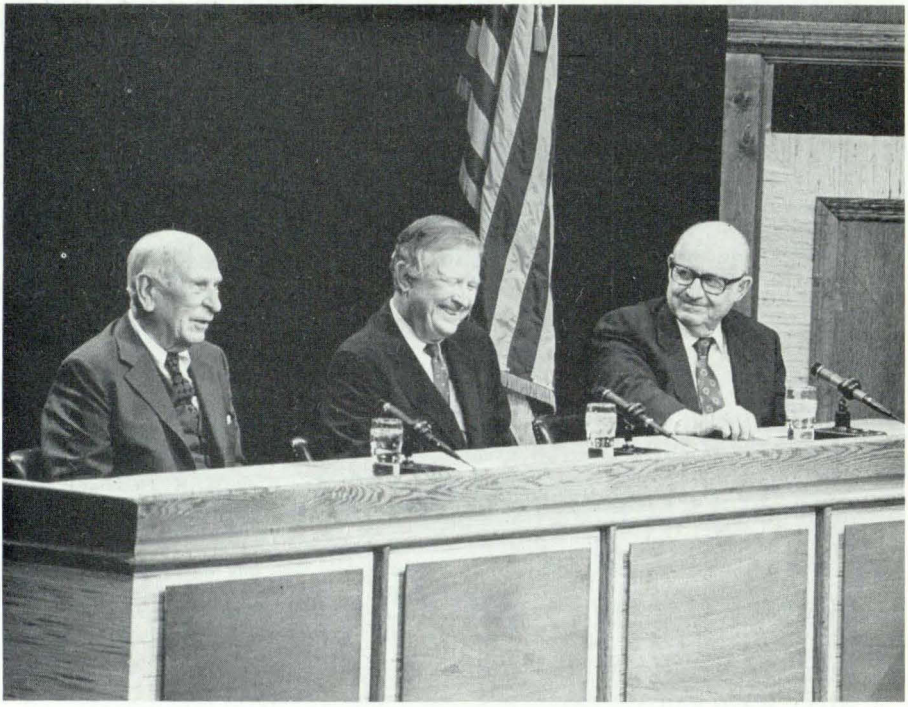
FOWLER: Governor Riley, your administration spans the end of the '70s and carries us into the '80s, a period of both growth and recession. Uh, how would you characterize economic growth over that eight-year period?

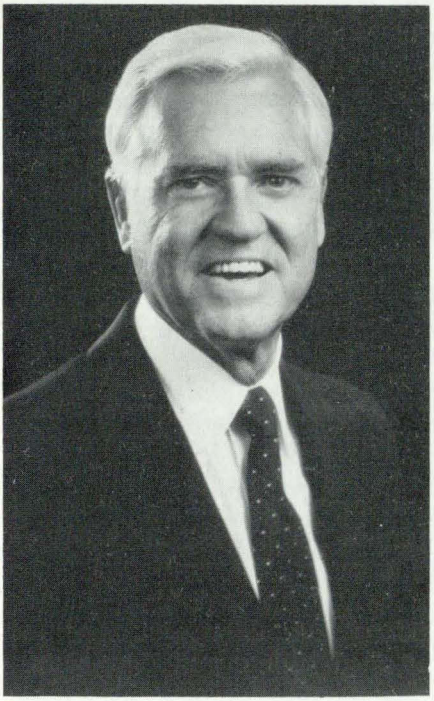
RILEY: Well, I think governors who came before me had all done a tremendous job in economic development and, and continue to, under Governor Campbell. That's been characteristic of South Carolina's governors. They were willing to leave the state and do the job and John West I think was one of the first to really do an awful lot overseas. And all that has paid off, and I want to congratulate all of them for that. The South Carolina, as Jim says, part of the world, we find ourselves in moments in history, the dynamics of the world in an economic sense and a political sense impact us just like everywhere else. When you look back at history and you see the agricultural era and then you come into the industrial revolution, we were late getting into that. When everybody else was kind of looking for another direction we were just getting strong into the industrial revolution, coming out of that, of course, into this era of information or whatever where education really is the important thing. In 1979 when I took office, we

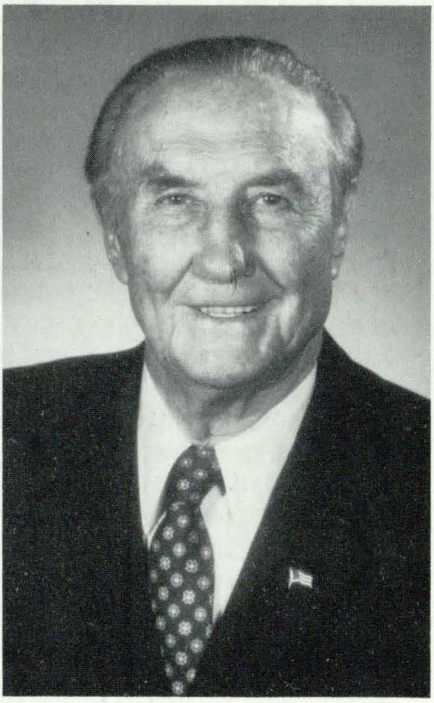
were really into that. We were realizing at that point in time that if we were gonna have good jobs for our people, we were gonna have to have them well educated, they were gonna have to be able to function in this world as it is in a global sense, and in a highly technical way. We had the restructuring of the textile industry early in my administration, we had a right serious recession, so we had some downturn, but, really it turned out that that was probably very good for the state. Textile people modernized their plants, they turned them into high tech facilities. We then had the influx of really strong, high tech, industry into this state, more and more of it, a lot of service industry. People got into education, people got into improving, further improving technical education and so forth. The future is very exciting. We're seeing a turn now from where the important resources are no longer physical plant and so forth, but it's really ideas and technology. So this business of education and preparedness of our people, our human infrastructure is becoming more and more important. I think we're in touch with that and it's been a right exciting history.

FOWLER: Governor Campbell, we find ourselves in our present day in South Carolina in an unusual situation. I'm sure they never would have guessed 40 years ago that many of our rural areas which were long dominant economically and even politically in our state are falling in the shadows of the faster growth areas, the metropolitan areas, our coastal growth. Your service, the Southern Growth Policies Board, apparently has keyed in on that, developing rural leadership, technology transfers for the rural areas. This was a problem 40 years ago no one would have predicted.

CAMPBELL: Well, of course 40 years ago you had a different economy in the rural areas of South Carolina, you were still in an agrarian economy, and now we only have one county in the state that truly qualifies as an agricultural county. Most of the economies of the smaller communities were during the height of the manufacturing era were around for the last 25 or 30 years—they were around a small plant or small plants. So they were manufacturing in base. But the rural area is changing in that people are moving out, a workforce is there, the preparation of that workforce for the jobs of today is essential for the growth of the rural area, the effort of the states to try to upgrade the companies that are already there through technology transfer is extremely important in trying to get a balance to grow throughout the state of South Carolina. There is something else that's real impor-







Opposite page, top photo (left to right): Judge Russell, Governors McNair, and West.

Opposite page, bottom photo (left to right): Governors Edwards, Riley, and Campbell.

This page, top left photo: Senator Hollings.

This page, top right photo: Senator Thurmond

This page, bottom right photo: Governor Timmerman.

tant, and that is the development of leadership in smaller communities. And when I say development, there are many people that are leaders there that just haven't been on the statewide level, are not trained yet to deal with the federal government with resources available to them, and with ideas and planning that can move their communities forward. Now that effort has been ongoing for a few years and it is, really paying great dividends as we have gone into a new era of education, that educating of leadership. And it too, it's a continuum in the education of the people. We've educated people for a long time in the manufacturing era to do basically single jobs or rote jobs. Our schools systems were set up that way. You were taught to answer a bell, you were taught to do things in a certain period of time, everything was incremental, time increments and that sort of thing, and education itself has to evolve, it's gonna have to evolve into promoting high order of thinking skills, not how long you sat in a classroom, but how much do you know. Not passing a true and false or fill—multiple-choice test, but your ability to think and to reason. Adults this day and time are having to—be prepared to change, skills even on the same job or jobs an average of about seven times in their life, and so we have a different world that we're moving into, as Governor Riley said. We're moving into, information age, we're moving into an era of things that—we, we don't know that we can define literacy any more. When you have computers that can take what I'm saying to you right here, scramble my voice and bring the message out differently, at the other end, how do people know that the truth is being told? I mean, these are serious questions we're gonna have to face in the future in communications. There are so many things now that, ten years ago we couldn't do. Dr. Edwards, you well know, in the area of medicine, as we look into that field. So education itself has to evolve along with the demands of the world we live in. I think South Carolina is making every effort to do that. Our education system under Governor Edwards who put in the foundation with the Education Finance Act and Governor Riley and the Education Improvement Act and the efforts that we've passed in this General Assembly in the Target 2000 looking to high order thinking skills, our efforts in higher education now as we've moved in and put in a program that we call the Cutting Edge, which is to promote research and development of product and ideas in our universities has taken us up this ladder, and South Carolina is, is evolving, and I think we are evolving much more rapidly now than we did a few years ago, perhaps 25, 30 years ago, because I think the public now supports the idea very strongly, and I will credit my two predecessors,

all five of my predecessors sitting here, with making education a priority and to, you know, for being able to get the public interested and to sell them on the idea that a strong education system was absolutely essential if we were going to have a strong economy in our state and our economic development would take place, as we would like for it to do. There's another aspect, though, we haven't talked about. Education and economic development are inextricably linked. We understand that. But the idea of our environment, where we live and the air we breathe and the water we drink and what we have in dealing with the industrial capacities we have in dealing with the future is also now coming into play. As to the quality of life, our ability to grow in an economy and our education system, because there again we're having to educate the public and the public as a whole and individually young people coming along, as to things that can harm the environment, things that can be done, and indeed new technologies are being developed right in this state to protect our environment and create the ability to live in an industrial atmosphere and a developed society and still protect that environment. So these are the types of things in education and development that have taken place and will continue to take place.

FOWLER: The two areas, education and the environment. Let's move to education since that's, for Governor Riley and Governor Campbell, been a large part of your response to the question of economics. Going to Judge Russell, it was said that education was your priority, that you formulated different plans to reorganize the higher education of this state, saw education as the key to economic prosperity. You mentioned your service, Governor McNair did, as president of the University of South Carolina during that time. Talk a bit about the role of education in the state and the role of the governor's office in supporting and helping to encourage that growth.

EDWARDS: Well, I thought when I took the office of president of the University of South Carolina, I thought that education was the primary responsibility of the state, it was a goal that we should all center on, and it was the key to the future of our state. I felt differently from some people. Many people thought that you started with the bottom and moved up, and I operated on the assumption that you started from the top and moved down, that you had to have at your center universities, the place where they created the ideas that would develop education in the state, that gave the leadership, and that therefore the key were the two state univer-

sities, Clemson and Carolina. And that we ought to center on that and try to build the first thing, most important, faculty. We had to have a faculty that stood out and gave leadership to the state in every field. And I think that still is a very important feature. Now, you talk about how we're gonna bring in industry. Industry looks for many things, but one of the things they look to is to what kind of research facilities you have, what do you have in the way of creative thinking in your universities. Now, the miracle of Massachusetts was built on that very back—foundation, that there was talent there developed at the top level creating new research in every field, and I felt then that we ought to develop the university. I also thought that we did have a great responsibility for the other groups of society. Some were not going to college. I always thought that everybody that had any prospect ought to be given a college education. I didn't think however, that people—there were some people that it was not profitable for them to go to college and therefore we were the first state university that ever had a comprehensive entrance examination. Prior to that the feeling was that anybody that wanted to go and was a citizen of the state he had to be able to, to be admitted. Well, that cost the state money. The state needed to invest that in people who would profit. Therefore we laid down the rule that the lowest ten percent, those that came in—for instance, when I went to the university, sixty-six percent of those entering the freshman class flunked out. The state had invested all that money in bringing them there and having them one year. They either did not have the motivation or they didn't have, their talents didn't run in that line. And therefore you were not doing them a favor and you certainly were not doing the taxpayers a favor, that you needed to concentrate where the money would really give you some dividend. And we tried to build that up. A second thing we tried to do was to bring in outstanding people, particularly scientists. We had, certainly as far as the university was concerned, we had very little at that time in the physics department. We didn't have one single professor who had a PhD. in physics. We had one that had an MA, Master of Science, rather. One, only one. And I don't want to reflect on that, but that MS was from the University of Georgia, and at that time we were thinking a little above Georgia. [laughter] And so, we tried, we had to build that up, we had to have departments. The same thing is true, I don't think, I wouldn't say for a moment that Clemson was in quite the same unfortunate position we were, but they also had that need. We had a need to build up this real reservoir of talent that could convey to others. Now, I found out that, it doesn't necessarily mean that a great scientist is a great

teacher, don't misunderstand me. It's a hard thing to find a great scientist who is also a teacher. I remember we got a very talented mathematician from Princeton and we brought him down. He'd written many papers, he was highly regarded scholastically. But he was an absolute dud so far as our institution was concerned [laughter] because he couldn't talk to a freshman and he couldn't talk to a sophomore. And what we needed was somebody that had a rapport with these sophomores and freshmen to build up their interest in mathematics. So it's really a hard job, but we all have to work on it and, work at it, because I think that is the secret, as all of these people have said, to the real progress in any economy. Now, we look today around and, we see the economies that are growing, we see the economies, the economies that are leading, and they are leading because they have devoted themselves to building up the education of their people. I think in reality that's in large part the failure of communism. Communism didn't give people the, the right and the opportunity to think and grow freely. That's what we have to do here.

FOWLER: Senator Thurmond is on satellite from Washington at this moment. The Senate is still in session. They're voting up there and he is with us for a few moments. Senator Thurmond, we'll move for a moment. Talk a bit about law and order. That's always, in current polling of public opinion, near the top. As well as education and good jobs, people want crime in the streets reduced, and during your term as governor the State Law Enforcement Division was founded. Earlier you studied law at night to prepare for the bar. You served as circuit judge for eight years. Talk a bit about that, about your attitude toward law and order during your administration and your motivation for founding SLED.

THURMOND: Well, when I went in office as governor, it seemed that politicians paid off their patronage by putting them on the law enforcement division. So we changed that. We wanted to have scientific development and skills used, put on younger people, and we did that and we changed it from the old law enforcement agency to SLED, that's the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division, which we have today. That was a great innovation and throughout the years this has been carried on and now it's a tremendous asset to South Carolina. Law and order is the primary responsibility of a governor, and of course education, economic development, environment, health and other things are important and must be important. At the same time we've got to keep law

and order to protect people, and we did everything we could to put that on the map for South Carolina and to get it going and I am very proud of the record that SLED has made since that time.

FOWLER: Senator Thurmond, the one thing that is very eerie when reading the State of the State address during your term of office, there's one mention in there of a pressing problem, and that's the overcrowding of our corrections facilities mentioned in your 1948 State of the State address. Talk a bit about that. That seems to be one of the problems that has stayed with us throughout the entire time we're speaking of this afternoon.

THURMOND: Well, yes, crime has increased to a certain extent over the years. And I remember that the black girls were put out on the chain gangs and other places and we had no school for them. We had a school for white girls, but not black girls. I recommended that one be established and that was established and I was very proud so they could get the same opportunities, same training, as the white girls. And, the correction institutions at that time were crowded and we did what we could. We expanded them some and, of course, as time has gone, on crime has increased. Now we need still more correctional institutions, and I think that's a responsibility that the state's got to meet and the federal government's got to meet. We have a federal correction center that's going to be put in the state. We may get another one, but we've got to meet this situation. We've got to meet it head on. We, we can't just let it pass by the board.

FOWLER: One other thing that has not been an issue in recent years but was during the time you began office, was the issue of, you mentioned patronage, but the issue of pardon. The governor's pardoning criminals. Talk a bit about your attitude toward that and what you did about that.

THURMOND: Well, a number of governors who had served in the past had pardoned people, large numbers of pardons. One governor pardoned twelve murderers his last day in office and others pardoned many people that I felt unnecessary. So I took the position, I would not pardon anyone for any purpose unless the Pardons and Corrections Board recommended it, the Pardon and Parole Board. And I did not do so. Then I recommended the board be revised. Then some said, "Well, you just want to get control of it yourself." Well, we did change the board and so we set it up so that no one governor could ever get control of it. And

that's the way it is today, and I'm very pleased with that reform, it was a very important reform, and, and I think it has aided greatly in gaining respect for the governors because so many of them had allowed themselves to grant pardons unnecessarily, some to political friends, some to political lawyers and other reasons, but at any rate that's ended today. So we ended the pardon power by the governor.

FOWLER: Did that come from your background as a circuit judge from what you viewed from—

THURMOND: Yes, it did—

FOWLER: —that vantage point?

THURMOND: Yes, it did. It came from my background as a lawyer and a circuit judge. I think I saw the importance of not allowing, after the law enforcement officers had risked their lives to catch these criminals and then the courts had tried them and given them what they thought was a just punishment and then to have a governor turn them loose. It was disgusting and frustrating to me and that's the reason I recommended to bring this reform to the state.

FOWLER: Senator Thurmond, I know you have to, to run in just a moment, back to another vote, but earlier in our discussion we were talking about the role of the executive in South Carolina and the growth of the Budget and Control Board and during your time the comptroller general and treasurer were added to that board. What was the idea behind this and how did that succeed?

THURMOND: Well, they were all constitutional officers and we thought it would be well to do that. Probably—before that it had been the chairman of the Finance Committee and chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and the governor. But we thought that this would give a broader Budget and Control Board, and I think it has inspired more confidence and has been very helpful and I think it was a good reform.

FOWLER: In your time, this was still an era after World War II, with the state's economy getting revved up in the postwar boom. Describe your administration, the time in office, what were your priorities overall and how well do you think you met them?

THURMOND: Well, my first priority was education. I had been a school teacher, an athletic coach, a school superintendent, and I felt that we should take steps to improve the educational system of the state. And we did do that. We brought it to the highest educational level in the history of the state. We added the ninth month state supported school system and we added the 12th grade and we spent large amounts of money to increase education. That's the hope of the nation. Nothing more important. The next important thing we wanted to do was raise the economic stability of the people of this state and we're—Charlie Daniel at that time was doing a lot of good work in bringing in industry and I got hold of him and the director of the development board and we made many trips up north, we brought the Singer Sewing Machine Company to Camden and we brought—not to Camden—excuse me, the DuPont Company to Camden, the Singer Sewing Machine Company to Anderson, and many other industries. And, we created many jobs. And—I had the figures out. I haven't got them right before me right now, but we made tremendous improvement in the economic situation in the state by bringing in new industry and providing new for the people. I felt that was probably the second need after education, was to help people get jobs. They had to have jobs to make a living. Another thing, we advocated establishment of the area trade school system and this was the foundation more or less for the technical colleges. In other words, it's all vocational education. The technical colleges carried it to a higher degree and I am very proud of that, and they are the best in the nation. But this area trade school system was taken over by the technical colleges and carried on to a higher degree. And this has trained thousands of people and has been a great asset in bringing industry to the state. I feel that education is the hope of the nation, it's the hope of the state, and we must continue to do everything we can to educate our people.

FOWLER: Senator Thurmond, one last question. During your time this state still was experiencing lynchings, we were still in an era, that goes back a number of decades in this state and as governor you took a stand on this and as far as observers, made a difference. Talk a bit about this, about the era we were leaving, the era we moved into, in South Carolina.

THURMOND: Well, up in Greenville County it seems that some white men had lynched a black man and the question was, what was gonna be done? I immediately had the law enforcement division go out and apprehend the criminals and arrest them. And

then the question is, what we gonna do with them? Is the governor really gonna push it? Because the attitude had been that maybe the man deserved to be lynched. Of course, no one ever deserves to be lynched. I immediately had them apprehended and had them in jail, I believe in just a short time thereafter. So I think the people saw then that we were not gonna allow any foolishness when it comes to law and order, that we're gonna enforce the law on everybody, regardless of race, creed or otherwise.

FOWLER: Senator Thurmond, we're going to continue with that point of discussion. Stay with us as long as you can. If you need to leave, we certainly understand and appreciate your being with us. Let's pick up on that. Judge Russell, that is similar in tone to what you were saying earlier about our state and the kind of symbolic stance that we took. As governor, your first official act after inauguration was something that still stands out as a symbol, the barbecue on the Governor's Mansion grounds, an integrated event that made the covers of all the papers in the state, was highly publicized outside the state. That was a symbol. What did it say?

RUSSELL: Well, it was a symbol, because as you say, we had attracted a great deal of attention. I think there was a certain feeling on the part of the northern press, if they'd come down here, there was going to be some disturbances or something like that. It turned out it was a very fine occasion. Mrs. Russell and I stood in the door of the mansion and met everybody that came in and they had a Life photographer there and he was going to take pictures, and I think it was probably framed, but they arranged to have this black to come in, and they thought, well, we wouldn't welcome the black in. I assume that's what they must have thought. The black came in and we welcomed him and the black went in and stayed a moment or two. They had taken his picture when he showed up. He goes around and the next thing we know, here comes the same person back. [laughter] He came through three times [laughter] but he didn't get his picture taken but once. [laughter] And his picture did appear in Time,—Life magazine, so he was pleased there. But I do think that that was just another testimonial of the good sense of the people of South Carolina. After all, we—knew within what the law was and what we had to do and we did it. And I think that that's, as I say, something that's very strong in favor of South Carolina. And you speak about crime, however, and I now deal with crime a great deal because a third of our

business has to do with criminal law. And I know nothing that's worse today, more threatening to every phase of the life of the people than the drug habit and the drug trade. And I think unless we are able in some way or other to get control of that problem, I hate to think what the consequences that are going—that society is going to have to endure. The state has a heavy responsibility there, but primarily I recognize that the responsibility is federal. But to such extent as they can, I think that the state government must—I think the governor has the responsibility because he has the resources and today we've established a pretty effective and a highly sophisticated state in law enforcement and I think that, it needs to address itself primarily to that great responsibility in the field of the control of drugs.

FOWLER: Governor McNair, during your time we had passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act; Lyndon Johnson was president, the Great Society programs were implemented. Talk about your administration, the time in office and issues of black South Carolinians, white South Carolinians, how we moved forward during that time.

MCNAIR: I think Judge Russell has already talked about it because following him made it much easier because he had really set a tone for South Carolina, and one that we believed in law and order and we believed that it worked both ways, so we were gonna comply with the law. The Great Society programs were coming, the Accommodations Act had come down and that opened up all facilities. We have to give former Mayor Lester Bates and people like the late Bill Lyles and others, the leadership here in the city of Columbia, a great deal of credit for putting together a bi-racial group and opening up the facilities in a peaceful way and I think that sort of provided the leadership we needed throughout the state. When the Voting Rights Act was passed we had a similar experience that Judge Russell had had when they had to integrate Clemson, with the federal government wanting to send, as you recall, the federal registrars into all of the states in order to register those that had heretofore not been able to register. Judge Russell was then Senator Russell. I flew up to Washington, one of my early experiences, met, had him arrange meetings with Attorney General Katzenbach and, we took a position there that we weren't gonna need federal registrars in South Carolina, that we would comply with the law and we would do it ourselves through our own structure that was already set up, and that I was willing to take that responsibility on and assure them

that we would do it. At the same time we joined with other states in questioning the constitutionality of the legislation itself in its application to South Carolina, but as far as compliance, that we would. [We] came back home, had a conference with a group of state senators who were deeply concerned about it, but in a consensus-reaching meeting in the governor's conference room we agreed and assured the then attorney general that we would do it. So I think following that pattern, we were able to establish a respect for the law and that, that applied in all instances. It doesn't mean we certainly were without our problems during that time, but we went through the period, I think with some incidences that we all re—

RUSSELL: With flying colors.

MCNAIR: —regret. Sir? yes—

RUSSELL: We came through with flying colors.

MCNAIR: Well, we hope we did. And we had some, some serious problems, but we think we were able to do it, mainly because of the relationship that existed at the leadership level of both the black and the white community. We never lost communications as they did in other states. We were always open in our discussions and we were willing to sit down and talk about our problems and try to work them out in moderation. And I think by doing that we were able to maintain the support and confidence of the people of both races during that period of time. We had Orangeburg, we had Voorhees, we had the University, we had Lamar. I can recall saying on television in Greenville, when the last and final court decision came along, that we've now reached the point where we have to make a final decision. We've run out of courts and we've run out of time and we're gonna get on with it. We're gonna comply with the law, we're not gonna defy it, and we're gonna move forward with the peaceful integration of our public school system. And fortunately we were able to do that, and I think with relatively few bad incidences. So I think our respect for the law that both Senator Thurmond and Judge Russell has talked about played a role in that, because we did have a respect for it, and that permeated through the whole society and made it easier for us to deal with those kinds of crises that would develop during that period of time.

FOWLER: Governor West, during your administration our state was just coming into the unitary school system in full force. The Human Affairs Commission was created during that time and [so was] the commission of the State Housing Authority during the period, and you made a campaign promise and then a statement in the inauguration that this would be a color-blind administration.

WEST: Well, I benefitted by the precedent set by my predecessors. Perhaps the most dramatic speech I've ever heard made in the political arena was Governor Hollings' final speech. The order to integrate Clemson had just come down and he addressed the legislature, and said, "We're a government of laws, not of men. Clemson will be integrated." Governor Russell, who followed him in just a few days, had the courage to go forward to see that it was done, and done in a very professional manner, in a peaceful way. The many problems that integration brought about were addressed by Governor Hollings, Governor Russell, and then by Governor McNair, and by the time I got there it was, the crises were, had largely been met and defused. I well remember, for example, you mentioned the Human Affairs Commission. I created that the first year by executive order, because I didn't think the legislature would approve it. The second year it passed the legislature unanimously. That showed a maturity of thinking and a progression. I also appointed the first black aide in the Governor's Mansion, on the governor's staff, took him to the first Governors' Conference. He was the only black aide, Jim Clyburn, who is now head of the Human Affairs Commission, and all the governors from the north looked around and said, "Who is that black assistant that you have down there and where did he come from?" That was a symbol, and it all helped. So, fortunately, I like to think, perhaps too optimistically, that race as a political issue died during our time. There are still problems, but as a political issue, it was swept under the rug and if not solved, the real fire was taken out of it.

FOWLER: Governor Edwards, as we move on with this part of the discussion, pick up with where Governor West left us.

EDWARDS: Well, I think Governor West pointed out that he was able to do things because of the activities of the previous leadership, previous governors, and I can say that I was able to do the same thing. I felt that we had reached a time in South Carolina where it wasn't enough just to integrate, but it was time to participate and let minorities participate fully in government, and I

was able, through the precedent-setting activities, and the things that they had done, to name more minorities to boards and commissions and jobs of honor than had ever been named before in state government. I've forgotten how many there were, but two of the ones that I remember that surprised a lot of people is that I named the first black to the Higher Education Commission and then I named a black to the Industrial Commission, and I never will forget, I was talking to a group of people, black people, and one of them said, I told them that I had named this black lady to the Industrial Commission, and one of them said, "Yeah, and she makes $40,000 a year." That's the first time a black had ever been named to a commission, and this other guy said, "And she has an automobile furnished, too." And I think that was a giant step and once again it was a symbol of the things that these other governors had done prior to my administration and another symbol that said, you know, it's time for full participation of all people in South Carolina government. And I think Governor Riley took it from there and he didn't want a Republican to outdo him along this line, so he carried it even further. [laughter]

FOWLER: We'll take that as a cue, Governor Riley.

RILEY: Well, I didn't let him outdo me, I'll say that. [laughter/applause] I followed a string of governors who were all people of good will and all came into that issue at different moments in South Carolina's history and under different circumstances and I think they all handled it well, and I was proud of that. It was not difficult for me because I believed in it. I had, as governor, in some ways, as Jim pointed out, when the symbolic part had taken place, and that was very difficult—it's hard to think back and realize how difficult it was, but it was—and all of that was in place, legal segregation was out, but in many ways the more difficult part was yet to come. And that was the difficulty of trying then to take a new social order, which was right and correct and proper and take young black children who had come up in an inferior education system, facing a changing world where education was the important thing then to try to build a system that was fair to all South Carolinians. I, too, was very much involved in appointing blacks to key positions. I took the position that the state was a third black and I put a third black in appointment slots where I possibly could, certainly in my staff, to start with, on every level. I just was making a speech earlier today in a matter regarding the late Senator I.D. Quincy Newman, [who was] a part of my staff as he was on the prior governor's staff. The fact is any major decision I ever made

as governor within my office was a black person of responsibility and good will also. And I tried to make that statement in terms of my work with infant mortality, trying to prepare young children for the first grade, and then with the impetus on improving quality education for all children, a strong effort to remedial, compensatory education to help blacks catch up. And they have done a tremendous job and they have come, black students, have gone light years ahead during this past era and I am very proud of that.

FOWLER: Governor Campbell, we are still in the process of growth, of reconciliation, on issues of black and white in South Carolina. Take this to the present time and where we are, and where we are headed.

CAMPBELL: I think Governor Riley kind of capsulized, you know, the evolutionary steps that came along, and I think today you are in a given sense that people are included in every position, in every era, every area of government, should be. And it is an absolute given that black people, white people compete on an even footing for jobs because of their skills, and that's the way it should be. We still have problems. We had some isolated incidents that have taken place in the last year. There are people that are racist that are white and there are people that are racist that are black, and they seek to exploit incidents quite, quite often. The challenge is not to let them gain control in any given situation. I was most impressed after a very difficult incident at a swimming pool in a town in South Carolina where a group that was working for a church was denied the ability to go to a private pool, a public pool that was called private, essentially. I was most impressed with the bishop of the Methodist Church, who happened to be black, and his way of dealing with that. His way of dealing with that was to reach out to people that were caught up in it that didn't really understand and to try to seek to exploit the good will that he knew was there. And I was most impressed with the willingness of people to meet immediately to try to solve a problem that never should have taken place because it was based on some antiquated laws and some things of that nature. I think that's what we have evolved to, where people of good will have reached out, whether they're from the black community or the white community, in most instances. We have had a few situations that we have had to apply the law in a little different way, for public accommodations, and that has to do, of course, with a restaurant where certain segments of our population were denied the right to go as any other member of the public has a perfect right under

federal law to do. In this state, where we enforce the federal laws, indeed we looked for a different way to enforce our own laws and did. And it had to do with the licensing by the state of a public facility. We sought and addressed that issue and did it correctly. Those are isolated incidents now. They are not commonplace. They don't represent the mainstream of thinking in the community, either white or black where there's an exploitation of race. And I think that speaks volumes for all of my predecessors and all of the evolutionary process that we have come through. I look forward to the day that we don't talk about race, that we operate as a society and as a society that indeed we recognize that everyone has that equal right to be all they can be, regardless of where they come from.

FOWLER: Governor Campbell, we'll go back to Washington. Senator Hollings is on the satellite with us. Senator, we're speaking of issues of race relations in South Carolina and black South Carolinians, white South Carolinians and how we as a state have moved forward. Your farewell address has been mentioned already. We must face the future with dignity. And tell us a bit about that address and about what was on your mind at the time.

HOLLINGS: What was really on my mind was our state continuing to succeed. The truth of the matter is that we'd turned around quite a few problems. We had gotten a triple A credit rating, we'd instituted technical training, we'd started up educational television, we'd done all of these things, but we really hadn't solved the race problem. And we were right there at Clemson University and we were either going the way of Oxford, Mississippi, or some of the other places where they had violence or we were gonna be a nation of, and a state, I should say, of laws rather than man. And that kind of sort of Jaycee training and the little pledge we take was on my mind. I said we'd run out of courts and I'd already laid the groundwork with our good friend Pete Strom at all avenues coming in and out to work it out with the press, the media and otherwise to give access to Harvey Gant, and Harvey handled it extremely well, as we all know. Clemson handled it very, very well, and now the rest is history. And I think that's really South Carolina in a capsule. We've been a bellwether state in leading on all of these particular issues and particularly on race relations.

FOWLER: Senator, we've touched already on the issues of economics and growth in South Carolina. When you took office you were 37 years old. You made a conscious effort to recruit and

promote industry and began international efforts, working heavily with South America initially to develop economic growth there, working with the Ports Authority to expand their facilities. Your quote was, "Industry is coming South. It's now a question of which southern state." Tell us a bit about the times in—

HOLLINGS: Well, the—

FOWLER: —your administration and this issue.

HOLLINGS: Well, the principal competition, you know, was North Carolina and our good friend Luther Hodges. He and I were lieutenant governors together. He lost his Governor Ulmsted two years into office and so he took over two years ahead of me. And my game was to sort of play catch-up ball and beat Luther. And we finally did that last year when we got Carolina Eastman down just below Columbia in Orangeburg, Calhoun Counties. I really wanted to show that we could do it. North Carolina, you know, with the great Triangle, with the fine institutions, N.C. State, the University and Duke University, they had just gotten out way ahead of us. We were really catching up at the University and Clemson level, and we had started a reorganization there, not only in higher education, but you remember our studies there on elementary and secondary, we were reorganizing that, the Tax Commission and everything else. And, in other words, you've got to position yourself. Fourteen thousand chambers of commerce committees of 100 are barreling into New York saying, "We'll cook you a barbecue, give you a drink, happy days, moonlight and magnolias." That's nonsense. They want to get their operation into the black. And we were just really positioning ourselves to do that and now the rest is history. The other governors, and particularly Governor Campbell now, I think, is emphasizing it, and I'm glad to see it.

FOWLER: You started a pattern that's been continuing through the governors. It's marked by the traveling—promoting South Carolina both within the United States and international. What about that? What prompted that—

HOLLINGS: Well, I'm thinking about it now.

FOWLER: —and how effective do you think it is?

HOLLINGS: I'm trying to get down to this event tonight. They said

that we've got a plane out there waiting. If we can ever get out of the United States Senate, Strom and I can get down there in an hour and twenty minutes. I'll never forget when we bought a plane, I came in in 1959, from Mrs. Beech at Beechcraft for $25,000. It was a used plane. It took us four hours and forty-five minutes to fly to New York, and we were on those airways just constantly beating on the door. Charlie Daniel was leading the way, and many a weekend was lost to New York and trying to get down to early morning, down on Wall Street before anybody else and mumbled the name, "Hollings from South Carolina" to make it sound like "Hodges from North Carolina." [laughter] Because Hodges had already been the president of the Rotary Club, you know, in New York City. He'd been the vice president of Fieldcrest chain of textiles, and so that's who they were really looking for was that white-headed fine president of the Rotary of New York to come in the door. I mumbled good enough, coming from Charleston and got in the door and then we could really sell because we've got really what industry wants.

FOWLER: How would you feel when you landed a good industry in South Carolina?

HOLLINGS: Oh, I just felt tickled to death, but I felt a responsibility that we follow through. And that was the tragedy to many of our southern states. They did land the good industries, but they didn't follow through, and I think that's one good thing about South Carolina. I've never had an industry come and say, "You promised, but you didn't perform." We did perform, and I'm proud that we've maintained that triple A credit rating, that we've expanded upon technical and industrial arts and training, kept pace. Now we've got day care center instruction and those kinds of things, health instruction, computerization in our technical schools. We've kept pace with the needs and thereby really have kept the promise.

FOWLER: The triple A credit rating has not been mentioned so far, but that's something that has been mentioned, it's been mentioned so much in the past years in South Carolina, but it's not something our state has historically had. It's something you earn and we carry forward. Talk a bit about that—

HOLLINGS: Well—

FOWLER: —why that is important.

HOLLINGS: You know, we had in the constitution of 1895 a provision to the point that you shall balance your budget, but I had been in the legislature for ten years, we had not done that. The fact is that when I took office, I took it in the red. We were trying to raise, on a $220 million budget, we were trying to raise about 19 to 20 million in taxes, and brother, I was opposed. I can tell you that. I got it stalled by one vote over on the House side and then finally worked my way a little bit better over on the Senate side. But even that didn't solve the problem. When we got up to New York, Jeff Bates was our state treasurer, and leading the way with me, and we thought that we could tell them now, "Look, we got a balanced budget, we need that triple A credit rating," and they said, "How can we count on it? How you gonna continue it?" We said, "We got a little device where periodically we get a certificate from the auditor that our expenditures are within the revenues and if not, we just cut even-Steven right straight across the board, a 0.5 percent, a 0.2 percent, Governor Campbell has done it, Governor Riley had to do it, and I said, "That'll always keep us in harness and we won't get beyond our means." On that basis we won out, both from Moody's and Standard and Poor's. We've maintained it since and incidentally, that wonderful experience at that time 30 years ago gave me the idea for Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. That's really my bill. Senators Phil Gramm and Rudman are Republicans. Republicans had control of the Senate, but when we lost out on trying to freeze, I then went for that old device and worked with Phil and with Ron Rudman on Gramm-Rudman-Hollings which is cutting us across right tonight, October the fifteenth in a sequester here in Washington, D.C.

FOWLER: Senator Hollings, we have four more minutes on the satellite and we know you need to get on the plane to head down here. Key to industrial development in this state, and this has been mentioned already in this discussion, is the tech system in South Carolina. Tell us a little bit about the origins of tech.

HOLLINGS: Well, I was just explaining a moment ago that the person who really makes the decision on the move to your South Carolina is about a number five or six man down the line. He's the one that says, "Look, can I really get this in the black?" And South Carolina had a reputation of not having any skills. I put in the system. I had to fight to do it because the industry was really not for it at the particular time. They didn't want anybody learning skills and disturbing their job market. Education thought, in fact that's what they said, "That's woodwork, that's for the bums who can't pass,"

and that kind of thing. The educators were against it, and I had to really write it myself in a conference committee over there with Senator Brown. When we got it in, the real key to success, and never should be forgotten, was Wade Martin of North Carolina. We got him down here and he was a genius at it. We got our friend Stan Smith to lead the way and Greenville particularly to institute the first one. I can see us up on that hill with Avery Fonda and Leon Campbell, Pete Marchant, the other two gentlemen, we had five of us, the delegation, Louis Williams was there, who is now working with Tom Barton at the finest technical training center in the United States. It was rated so by *U.S. News and World Report.* And we put it in so I could say to that industry, "You give me that punch drill and two instructors or three drills and three instructors, I'll give you a hundred skilled workers in a hundred days." They said, "I don't believe it." And we did it several times. Then we could make references to how we had done it and how we had succeeded, and the rest is history.

FOWLER: When you look back on that time in South Carolina, what are you most pleased with, with your administration, and is there anything that you wish you could have done differently?

HOLLINGS: Well, thinking right here in Washington today, I am most pleased that we never did have a political poll. [laughter] And if I were king for a day I'd line up in the land all the pollsters and shoot them. [laughter] Because that's all you're getting up here in Washington is polls to government. You'd never find in a poll technical training, educational television, a triple A credit rating, taxes, increasing taxes. Those kinds of things never appear, the real needs of a people. In looking back, then I look on those particular programs that we had the leadership in the House and in the Senate. You had Bob McNair, for example, over on the House side, John West, both ensuing governors, that followed on and helped in the general assembly and my ten years working in the general assembly, I am most pleased that we were able to work as a team and put these things over.

FOWLER: Senator Hollings, thank you for being with us by satellite.
HOLLINGS: Thank you very much.

FOWLER: Let's move on to a final phase here of questions, looking forward and reflecting back. Our state, as Hugo has pointed out, is a very fragile thing that can be disrupted so easily. Just in a

few hours it can be disrupted by events half a world away with an oil embargo. It can be disrupted by so many things. We have so many internal conflicts we've talked about with the long, historical problems of undereducation, of race relations in the state that we're still working through. Our state has a long, colorful and very difficult history. Judge Russell, when the history of our time is written, what do you think that will—a chapter will say about us and about how we lived as South Carolinians?

RUSSELL:[I think that it will indicate] that we have done, have accomplished a great evolution in all phases and we have developed a—we've met with a few challenges of the world. We have a society that I think is going to be in the mainstream of everything. I think that we're gonna have, we can look forward to greater growth, we can look forward to a more, a better educated society, we can look forward to a society that's better equipped in every way, and I believe also that there has been a great increase in the cultural life of South Carolina. I think it's—everything about the life in South Carolina has improved. We do have a question about it, the criminal problem, but I think that's typical, endemic throughout the nation. That's the prob—that's gonna be a problem we've got to deal with. You speak of environment, yes, we're gonna have a great problem there. All states are gonna be confronted with it. It's a national problem, it's an international problem. The *London Economist* had an article about a week ago in which they indicated that perhaps the greatest shortcoming in the Soviet Union is the fact that they have no environmental protection and that those environmental problems are gonna overwhelm them in the next decade or more. So we have all sorts of—but I think that we have adjusted ourselves to meet those challenges and I have confidence in the future of South Carolina.

FOWLER: Governor McNair, looking ahead to future years, what advice or cautions would you give future governors of this state on how to be most effective and contribute most to South Carolina?

MCNAIR: Well, I think we've heard all of us today talk about how we've built on what's happened before and how each has had some special emphasis, but at the same time we've all been interested in, in building a better South Carolina by building a better living environment, by building better job opportunities, and by building a better educational system to prepare our people to move into this new century that's upon us. My word would be that

we continue to look forward and that we look ahead and that we continue to build an educational program and an educational system that's geared for the future, and I think that's very essential and that has to be, as Judge Russell said in the beginning, from the very bottom to the top. We can't overemphasize one over the other here and that's gonna be the challenge, is how well we can build a broad educational base in this state that will provide further growth in our economy and how we can balance both the environment and the maintenance of a good sound environment with our economic growth. It's gonna be a real challenge as we meet and deal with the law enforcement problems and all that I think we can, but I really believe it's how we deal with, with continuing to build an educational system, that will prepare our people for the future and how well we're able to provide economic growth and development.

FOWLER: As we talk in this final round, Judge Timmerman is in route to the dinner tonight and we are going to be trying to patch him in for a statement before we conclude, and we're waiting on that. Governor West, we have had discussion throughout this, this afternoon, on how the governor's office has evolved over time. Executive orders, the growth of the Budget and Control Board, various ways. Reflecting on your administration and knowing the history since that time, what specific recommendations, policies or programs might improve the office of the governor and how that helps South Carolina move forward?

WEST: The thing that has impressed me most about this discussion, Tom, is the way that all of us agree on the objectives that we wanted to achieve. There's been a noticeable lack of partisanship. If you didn't know that some of the group were Republicans and others Democrats, why it would be impossible to tell from the answers they've given. And I think that's the important thing. Rather than being too specific about issues or programs, to keep the focus on people and quality of life, and I think that has been the focus, fortunately, since World War II, on helping people and maintaining a quality of life. That includes health. Governor Edwards, I want to point out to you that it was a priority in my, our administration that we appropriated more money for capital improvements during the first year of my administration for the Medical University than the combined total of all before that, including that very fine office that you have, it was built with bond money that came in our administration. [laughter]

EDWARDS: That was a good investment. [laughter]

WEST: Yes, sir. I agree. Although the second controversy about a second medical school seems to have overshadowed that and that's why I had to take the opportunity to—

EDWARDS: A bad investment, yes.

WEST: I think it was a better investment than that office, Jim. But anyhow, I think the focus of the governor as the leader of the state, with the ability that he has to focus the attention of the people, the legislature, on programs; they should be people programs, health, education, jobs, quality of life, including environment. And I'm frankly reassured, I hope our viewers are, at the level of discussion that we've had here, and the unanimous feeling of those of us who've been privileged to lead. Those of us who are leading today, Governor Campbell, are in agreement on those basic objectives.

FOWLER: Moving to Governor Edwards, picking up on that, it's always written during an administration and sometimes written in the history afterwards. But you, as a former governor, what qualities or characteristics would you say make a successful governorship in this state?

EDWARDS: Well, I think one of the most important characteristics, number one, you have to have certain fundamental ability and knowledge. You must be knowledgable. But given that, beyond that, I think you have to be compassionate and understanding and patient and you must be willing to call in people that you have confidence in, consult with them, take advice and work through all the advice that you can as you meet the challenges that arise daily. We don't know what challenges those will be, but if you have the right attitude, I think that any challenge that's brought to the governor's office, with proper time, most of the people that have, that I've seen occupy the governor's office, along with the leadership of the House and the Senate of this state, and the constitutional officers, those problems will be solved in a reasonable, understanding way with those characteristics that I described. Compassion, I think, is one of the most important ones, and I think each of us here will agree that as you go through the office, your compassion for people grows and grows and grows and I don't know whether it's the responsibility that's thrown on you or what it is, but I know that my under-

standing of people's problems is much more compassionate now than it has been ever before, and I think these four years in the governor's office contributed greatly to this feeling.

FOWLER: This has been mentioned through this discussion in various ways, about how in some ways the governor is a reflection of the times in which we live. What about that? What about how the governor can affect the direction of the times?

RILEY: Well, I think the governor, as the leading state elected official, is really the only official the people choose that has all of the mixture of involvement in all of the various areas of governmental life. And I think it's so important when a person is then placed into that position for that person to first of all have great love and respect for this state and I think everybody here would represent that. Then I think it's important to understand the place in history, carefully think out the direction that you feel the state should move. I think it's important when a person is chosen to be governor that they govern. People expect their governor to govern and they ought to do it. I think that during my time as governor, I felt that we had all done a lot of things involving the elderly and involving economic development in so many areas, children were a group in our state that I felt had been talked about, a lot of things done, but really the focus needed to be put on children. I did that because I thought that was the proper thing to do at the time. In their health, in their education, and I am pleased to see that during that era there was literally a sea of change in young people of this state, black and white, in their expectations of themselves. And when a young person in South Carolina has higher expectations of themselves, take that all across the state and you're gonna see a state that moves forward, and that to me was the main force that was out there when I was governor.

FOWLER: Governor Campbell, your next State of the State address will occur in the new decade, which will end in the year 2,000. And as we move forward as a state to that next millennium, what do you think of that? What kind of state are we, what is our direction, what do we need to focus on?

CAMPBELL: Well, of course we, as you said, are moving into a new decade and we're also going to be focusing on a new century, and I think that as we focus on the decade we had best keep our eyes at least ten years down the road to the next century. In our educational system, we have to prepare ourselves as we advance. We passed legislation this past year called Target 2000,

which is looking in that direction, seeking to move us forward in our educational abilities, indeed in the way we educate. We will be looking to school reform, we will be looking to changes in the way we have provided opportunities for people. Those are items that are going to be very much on the agenda. I think the environmental issues will take a higher place on the ladder of discussion. As we grow we have to look at what we had that was so good and how do we keep that quality of life while we still enjoy our growth, and we'll have to focus more on that. We'll look at our workforce, that we now have, recognizing that the skill level is still not there. We will have to expand and innovate in the way we upgrade skills. We are already using schools in the workplace. We started that in our Initiative on Workforce Excellence this time. That will have to be expanded. We have at least a quarter of a million people in the workforce that go back to school. We'll have to recognize that as they improve their education, that the idea of an improved education permeates not only through their family, but indeed through their whole community that they live in, and that is going to help us, that there is a linkage in all of the things that we're looking for. These are the types of issues that we will have to deal with. There will be new issues. There will be issues that we haven't faced in the information age as we look in our state at the development of the fiber optics linkages, the ability to communicate, the world of the supercomputers which we will go into, the research capabilities, the working together of our universities in trying to essentially create a state university which is a consortium of the assets we have in our current universities to give us that ability to compete in the world marketplace. Now these are going to be challenges for us, but let me caution a couple of things as we look ahead, and it's always easy to look ahead. The fiscal responsibility of the state and the ability to look at a state from a business standpoint is also important. We have to recognize that the state itself cannot solve the problems of people; the state itself doesn't really create wealth or jobs; we create only a climate for that to be successful in. Therefore we have to maintain our fiscal stability. We've talked about our triple A credit rating. We have a constitutional mandated reserve fund. These are the kind of items that will maintain stability and temper the dreams with reality, and we will have to balance that. We have been fortunate. We have grown since 1986, from forty-fourth in per capita income to thirty-eighth in per capita income in the nation. Indeed we've come from 1980 from being forty-ninth in the nation in per capita income to thirty-eighth this year, so we are moving. Our children are beginning to improve in their test scores. They're

beginning to improve in their skills, and we can see it. And the attitude of the people of this state is beginning to improve. People in South Carolina don't go around saying, "Thank God for Mississippi" any more. People in South Carolina don't go along saying that you know, "Gosh, I wish we weren't forty-eighth or forty-ninth." People in South Carolina are beginning to believe that we can lead, that our children can compete with any children anywhere, and it's that attitude that we need to take into the next century. I'm particularly heartened by the efforts of our young people in our new math-science high school that we created. We weren't endowed by the National Science Foundation, indeed we weren't even funded by the legislature, but it was the private sector, and the building of the private-public partnership for progress [that] is important. But it was this, this little school with these children that proved the point I am trying to make. They stood their exams this year and their test scores were higher in our little math-science high school than the North Carolina school for math and science for the children in the same grade, the one endowed by the National Science Foundation, the one nationally acclaimed. What it proved was, given the opportunity that South Carolinians can compete with anybody, anywhere, indeed can probably beat them, and it's up to us to give them the chance.

FOWLER: Governor Campbell, thank you. All our former governors, thank you. On today's discussion we've discussed an era that began just after the second world war and that carries us forward to the end of the century. For all of us, thank you for joining us. I'm Tom Fowler. Good night. [applause]

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